DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 266 204 UD 024 690

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TITLE School Desegregation Spurs First Housing Desegregation Gain in Forty Years in Louisville and Jefferson County. Three Decades of Increased Segregation Erased between 1970 and 1980. Staff Report 85-8.
INSTITUTION Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, Louisville.
PUB DATE Nov 85
NOTE 53p.
PUB TYPE Statistical Data (110) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Black Population Trends; Black Students; Busing; Census Figures; *Desegregation Plans; *Neighborhood Integration; Racial Integration; *Residential Patterns; *School Desegregation
IDENTIFIERS *Kentucky (Jefferson County); *Kentucky (Louisville)

ABSTRACT

This report describes housing desegregation gains in Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky, largely caused by school desegregation. The work of Judge James F. Gordon, who presided over the school desegregation plan, is cited as instrumental in aiding in this process. He ruled that no child in the minority in a neighborhood would be used for desegregation purposes, which in effect provided encouragement to black families to move into white school attendance areas, thus desegregating neighborhoods. The report finds the following desegregation gains in Louisville and Jefferson County: (1) In 1970, 15 census tracts were all white, and by 1980 the number was cut in half; (2) the percentage of black residents increased in 78.5% of the census tracts between 1970 and 1980; (3) the number of blacks living in suburban areas of Jefferson County increased by 275% between 1970 and 1980; (4) Louisville's desegregation status in 1980 was close to the national average; (5) housing desegregation has continued to increase based on a racial analysis of where the student age population lived in Jefferson County in 1980 and where they lived in 1984; and (6) 88.5% of the 104 census tracts with less than 20% black student age population in 1980 gained in the level of black students by 1984. These and other data are presented statistically and analyzed throughout the report. (CG)

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HIGHLIGHTS

1. School desegregation in the 1970s led to the first increase in housing desegregation that wiped out three decades of increased housing segregation in Jefferson County. The level of segregation (the segregation index) for Jefferson County in 1980 measured 82.4 on a scale of 100, the lowest since 1940 when the segregation level was 81.7 county-wide. Between 1940 and 1950, segregation rose to 86.0 from 81.7; by 1960 it grew to 89.2, and by 1970 the segregation index increased to 90.9.

2. Segregation in the city of Louisville declined between 1970 and 1980, the first drop in at least 40 years. The segregation index for Louisville was 80.9 in 1980, a decline of 2.7 since 1970 when the segregation index measured 83.6. Between 1940 and 1950, the segregation index for Louisville increased from 70.0 to 73.6 and by 1960 the index grew to 78.9.

3. Segregation declined in Louisville and Jefferson County between 1970 and 1980 because of the movement of blacks into all-white areas of the community and blacks lived in all areas of the city and county in 1980. Fifteen census tracts were all-white in 1970 and the number was cut in half by 1980 when only seven census tracts did not have blacks living within them.

4. More than three-fourths of the census tracts in Jefferson County gained in the percentage of black population between 1970 and 1980 while less than one-fifth of the census tracts declined in black population. The percentage of black residents increased in 117 or 78.5 percent of the census tracts between 1970 and 1980.

5. More than four of every five census tracts that had less than 20 percent black population in 1970 gained in the percentage of black residents by 1980. Ninety-four or 83.9 percent of 112 census tracts that were below 20 percent black population in 1970 increased in the percentage of blacks inhabitants by 1980.

6. The number of blacks living in the suburban area of Jefferson County nearly tripled between 1970 and 1980. The number of blacks living in Jefferson County outside a boundary roughly set by the Watterson Expressway increased to 29,122 in 1980 from 10,606 in 1970, an increase of 275 percent. That numerical increase raised the percentage of blacks living outside the Watterson Expressway to 6.8 percent in 1980 from 2.8 percent in 1970.

7. Louisville's desegregation status in 1980 was close to a national average, based upon a study of the 28 U.S. cities with the largest black populations. The average segregation index for the 28 cities (which did not include Louisville) was 81 compared with Louisville's index of 80.9. Compared to the 28 cities individually, Louisville was the sixteenth least segregated city in 1980.

8. Housing desegregation has continued to increase based on a racial analysis of where the student age population lived in Jefferson County in 1980 and where Jefferson County Public School students lived in 1984. One hundred twenty-three census tracts or 83.7 percent of 147 census tracts in Jefferson County gained in the percentage of black student age population between 1980 and 1984. Only 13 tracts or 8.8 percent of the 147 census tracts lost in the percentage of black student age population between 1980 and 1984.

9. Increases in the percentage of black student population throughout all areas of the county furthered desegregation between 1980 and 1984 in that 92 or 88.5 percent of the 104 census tracts with less than 20 percent black student age population in 1980 gained in the level of black students by 1984. Only two or 1.9 percent of the census tracts with less than 20 percent black student population in 1980 declined in the percentage of black students in 1984.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Highlights . . . . . Inside Front Cover
School Desegregation Spurs First Increase in Housing Desegregation 1
Desegregation Increases Continues Between 1980 and 1984 3
Segregation Decreases In City of Louisville 3
Blacks Living In All Parts Of County 4
Three Suburban Areas Have Higher Levels Of Blacks Than Other Areas 9
Southwest County Gains Six-Fold Increase of Blacks 11
Proportion Of Black Residents Increased In West Urban Areas . . . 12
Small Black Growth Occurred In East End Of City 14
Seven Small All-White Areas Remained In 1980 15
Louisville Segregation On The Average Nationally 16
Desegregation Has Continued Between 1980 And 1984 19
Suburban Areas More Desegregated In 1984 20
Two Small Suburban Areas Decline Slightly In Level Of Black Students 21
Urban Area Increased In Percentage of Black Student Population 21
Small Black Loss Occurred In West End And Other Scattered Areas 24
Conclusions 26
Bibliography Of Related Commission Publications 30

Table A Jefferson County Population by Race and Jefferson County Segregation Index 2
Table B Louisville Segregation Index 4
Table C Change in Population by Race in Suburban Jefferson Co. . 8
Table D Change in Population by Race in West Suburban Jefferson County 11
Table E Change in Population by Race in East Suburban Jefferson County 12
Table F Change in Population by Race in West Urban Jefferson County 13
Table G Change in Population by Race in East Urban Jefferson Co. 15
Table H The Change in Segregation in Major U.S. Cities 18

Map A Percentage of Blacks in Jefferson County by Census Tract, 1970 5
Map B Percentage of Blacks in Jefferson County by Census Tract, 1980 6
Map C Percentage of Black Student Age Population by Census Tract, 1980 22
Map D Percentage of Black Students in Jefferson County Public Schools by Census Tract, 1984 23

Appendix A Population of Jefferson County by Census Tract 1960, 1970, 1980 31
Appendix B Jefferson County Population by Race, Ages 6-18 by 1980 Census Tract 36
Appendix C Jefferson County Public School Student by Census Tract and Race as of October 1, 1984 40

PREFACE

The Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, since its inception, has called for and supported increased housing desegregation in all areas of the state, but especially in Louisville where a major portion of the state's black citizens reside.

This report is the second report using data from the decennial national census to document changes in housing patterns by race in Louisville and Jefferson County. The first report, "More Housing Segregation Than Ever. . .In Louisville and Jefferson County," was published in December 1973.

The analysis in this report is based upon the following data: "Census of Population and Housing, 1980--P.L. 94-171 Counts, Jefferson County, Kentucky," prepared by the Bureau of Census, Washington, D.C.;" "Census of Population and Housing, 1980, Summary Tape File 2A, Jefferson County, Kentucky," [machine-readable data file] prepared by the Bureau of Census, Washington, D.C.; Jefferson County Public School Pupils by Census Tract for 1984-85, as of October 1, 1984," prepared by the Jefferson County Public Schools.

The commission wishes to thank the University of Louisville's Urban Studies Center and the Jefferson County Public Schools for providing the census data and student population data and the Louisville Area Chamber of Commerce for providing the census tract maps of Jefferson County used in the report.

DEDICATION TO FEDERAL DISTRICT JUDGE JAMES F. GORDON

This report documents one of the most significant socio-economic changes that has occurred in Louisville and Jefferson County in the last fifty years. It is respectfully dedicated to the Honorable James F. Gordon, federal district judge (retired) because his leadership and steadfastness in devising and implementing Jefferson County's 1975 school desegregation plan was the key to bringing about this progressive change.

It should not be forgotten that Judge Gordon initially ruled that Louisville and Jefferson County schools were desegregated. But once the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled they were not and ordered the removal of the vestiges of segregation, Judge Gordon was unswerving in performing his judicial duty with distinction. But Judge Gordon made extra efforts to learn directly from the experience of federal judges in other cities that had desegregated schools. He insisted that the plan provide racial balance in all the schools and that equal numbers of blacks and whites be bused at all levels.

One feature of the desegregation plan he directed which has proven to be sheer genius was the feature which most led to housing desegregation. Part of the plan provided that no child in the minority in a neighborhood would be bused for desegregation purposes. The impact of this part of the plan on housing choices for black and white families proved significant beyond most imaginations. Every time a black family moved into a white school attendance area, their children became exempt from busing and could count on attending their area school for the duration of their education. And each of these children reduced the number of other black children who had to be bused into that suburban school to achieve desegregation. As the patterns of housing changed, the need for busing diminished.

Judge Gordon's leadership role in his Jefferson County desegregation plan is well known nationally because it is considered one of the best in the country. He deserves wide acclaim in his own state as well, because he has done so much to give our young people and increasingly our adult population actual experience with people of other races in schools and housing, so that they are learning to overcome the prejudices of past generations.

As a report issued by this commission in 1981 said, school desegregation efforts as ordered by Judge Gordon created a variety of benefits for blacks, and for our community. The report predicted that "the trend toward desegregation will not stop in its tracks but will continue into a future where it is the rule, rather than the exception. When this goal is attained, not only the schools, but every facet of society will benefit." The future is much closer today than it was over four years ago, and Judge Gordon's efforts have led the way to a more diversified community, with the benefits of an open society accruing to all.

. . . there is a strong relationship between school and housing desegregation, . . . it is the level of school desegregation that causes housing barriers to fall, and not the other way around.

- - -Diana Pearce, Department of Sociology, American University, Washington, D.C.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION SPURS FIRST INCREASE IN HOUSING DESEGREGATION

School desegregation in the 1970s led to the first increase in housing desegregation that wiped out three decades of increased housing segregation in Jefferson County. In the same decade that schools desegregated, Jefferson County housing (including Louisville) became more desegregated than at any time since 1940, according to an analysis of census data. In every decade between 1940 and 1970, the city and county became more segregated, but for the first time, between 1970 and 1980 when schools desegregated, housing patterns became more desegregated. The desegregating moves that were made between 1970 and 1980, wiped out all of the additional segregation that occurred county-wide between 1940 and 1970.

The housing desegregation that occurred was so widespread throughout all areas of the county that more than three of every

TABLE A

Jefferson County Population by Race
and Jefferson County Segregation Index
1930 - 1980

Year	Black	White	Total	% Black	Segregation Index
1930	51,068	355,350	406,418	12.6	NA
1940	51,166	385,392	436,558	11.7	81.7
1950	62,750	421,865	484,615	12.9	86.0
1960	78,890	532,057	610,947	12.9	89.2
1970	95,393	599,659	695,052	13.7	90.9
1980	109,698	569,399	684,793	16.0	82.4

---

four census tracts gained in the percentage of black population between 1970 and 1980. More than four of every five census tracts where blacks made up less than 20 percent of the population in 1970 gained in the percentage of black population by 1980.

The level of segregation (the segregation index) for Jefferson County in 1980 measured 82.4 on a scale of 100, the lowest since 1940 when the segregation level was 81.7 county-wide. Between 1940 and 1950, segregation rose to 86.0 from 81.7; by 1960 it grew to 89.2, and by 1970 the segregation index increased to 90.9 [See Table A].

The housing desegregation progress in Jefferson County closely follows the national trend in cities with metropolitan school desegregation plans. A study conducted by the Diana Pearce, a sociology professor at American University in Washington, D.C. found that "communit[ies] with metropolitan-wide [school] desegregation had a significantly greater decrease in housing segregation" than

other communities. The study concluded that no other explanation than school desegregation existed for the progress made in housing desegregation in cities with community-wide school desegregation plans.[1]

DESEGREGATION INCREASES CONTINUES BETWEEN 1980 AND 1984

Increases in housing desegregation appear to have continued between 1980 and 1984 based upon a racial analysis of where the student age population lived in Jefferson County in 1980 and where Jefferson County Public School students lived in 1984. More than four of every five census tracts gained in the percentage of black student age population between 1980 and 1984 according to 1980 census data and 1984 school data, indicating that black families are continuing to make desegregating moves into all areas of Jefferson County.

SEGREGATION DECREASES IN CITY OF LOUISVILLE

Segregation in the city of Louisville also declined between 1970 and 1980, the first drop in at least 40 years. The segregation index for Louisville was 80.9 in 1980, a decline of 2.7 since 1970 when the segregation index measured 83.6. While the pattern of segregation was reversed between 1970 and 1980, the accumulated segregation between 1940 and 1970 was not overcome in Louisville as it was in the total county. Between 1940 and 1950, the segregation index for Louisville increased from 70.0 to 73.6 and by 1960 the index grew to 78.9 [See Table B].

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[1] Diana M. Pearce, Robert L. Crain, and Reynolds Farley, "Lessons Not Lost: The Effect of School Desegregation on the Rate of Residential Desegregation in Large Central Cities," an unpublished study, 1984.

TABLE B

Louisville Segregation Index
1940 - 1980

1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
70.0	73.6	78.9	83.6	80.9

Source: Population Research Unit, Urban Studies Center, University of Louisville.

The segregation index (the index of dissimilarity) measures racial segregation by noting the racial composition of each census block in Jefferson County and computing the variation of each from the racial composition of the county as a whole. The index yields a number reflecting the degree of residential segregation between zero, which is no segregation, and 100, which is total segregation.

BLACKS LIVING IN ALL PARTS OF COUNTY

Segregation declined in Louisville and Jefferson County between 1970 and 1980 because of the movement of blacks into all-white areas of the community and blacks lived in all areas of the city and county in 1980. Fifteen census tracts were all-white in 1970 and the number was cut in half by 1980 when only seven census tracts did not have blacks living within them [See Maps A and B].

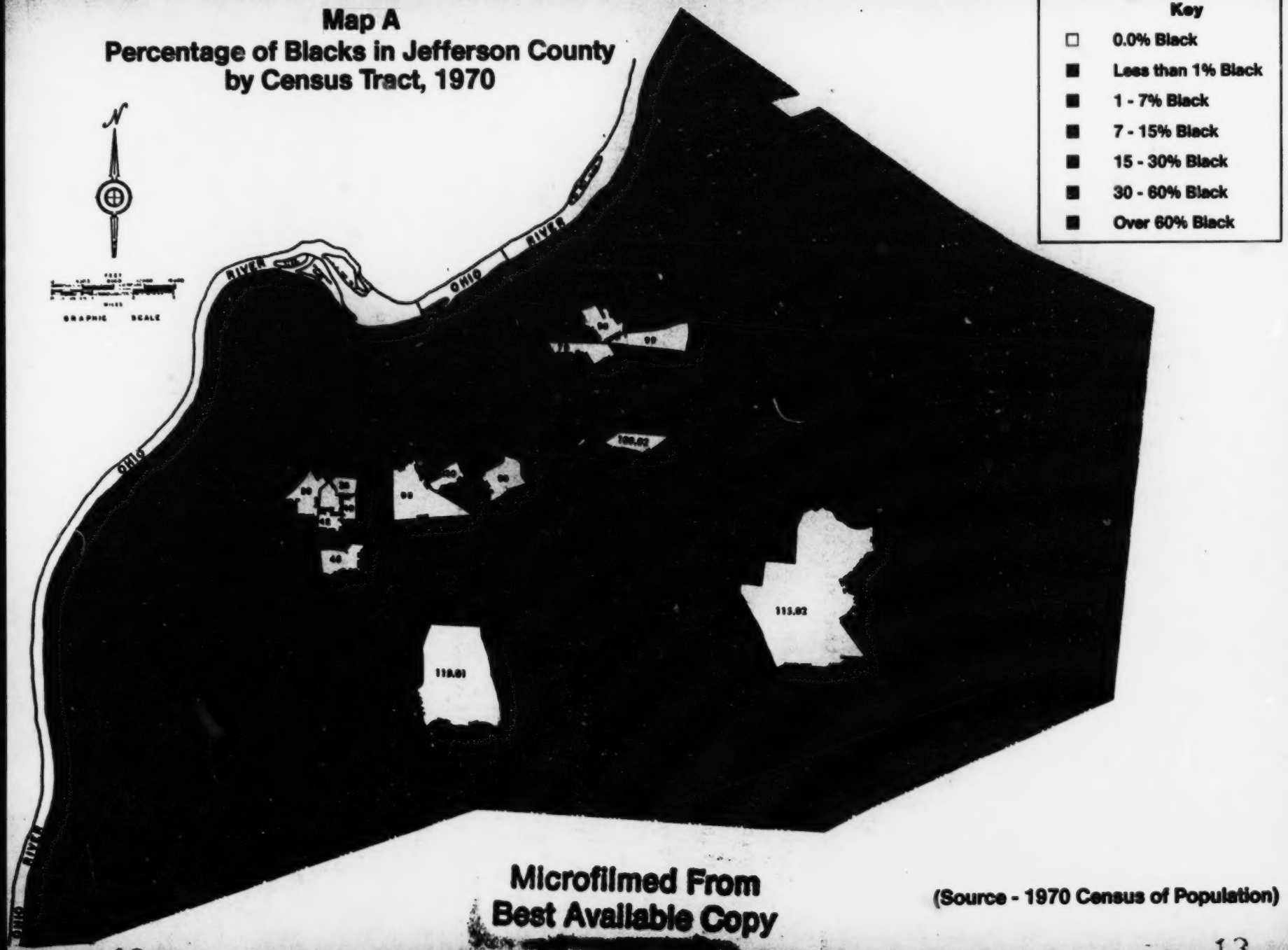
The 15 all-white areas in 1970 were comprised of 54,069 people or 7.8 percent of the county's population. The seven remaining all-white tracts in 1980 had 9,843 inhabitants or only 1.4 percent of the county's population.

More than three-fourths of the census tracts in Jefferson County gained in the percentage of black population between 1970 and 1980 while less than one-fifth of the census tracts declined in black population. The percentage of black residents increased in 117 or 78.5 percent of the census tracts between 1970 and 1980. Conversely, only 26 or 17.4 percent of the geographical areas fell in the percentage of black residents between 1970 and 1980.

The growth in the percentage of black population was so widespread throughout all areas of the county that the only large area of the county that did not increase in the percentage of black population was the extreme eastern census tracts that border on Shelby and Spencer counties (census tracts 102, 103.02, 104.01, 104.02, and 116). The only other eastern area of the county that did not increase in the level of black residents was the most north-eastern area of the county between the Ohio River and U.S 42, north of Prospect, bordering on Oldham County. All of the other predominantly white areas of the county--St. Matthews, Jeffersontown, Fern Creek, Highview, Okolona, Fairdale, Shively, Sylvania, Pleasure Ridge Park, Valley Station, and others--increased in the percentage of blacks.

Although the percentage of blacks increased in most areas of the county, the increases in areas where few blacks lived in 1970 was most impressive. More than four of every five census tracts that had less than 20 percent black population in 1970 gained in the percentage of black residents by 1980. Ninety-four, or 83.9 percent, of 112 census tracts that were below 20 percent black population in 1970 increased in the percentage of blacks inhabitants by 1980.

Map A
Percentage of Blacks in Jefferson County by Census Tract, 1970



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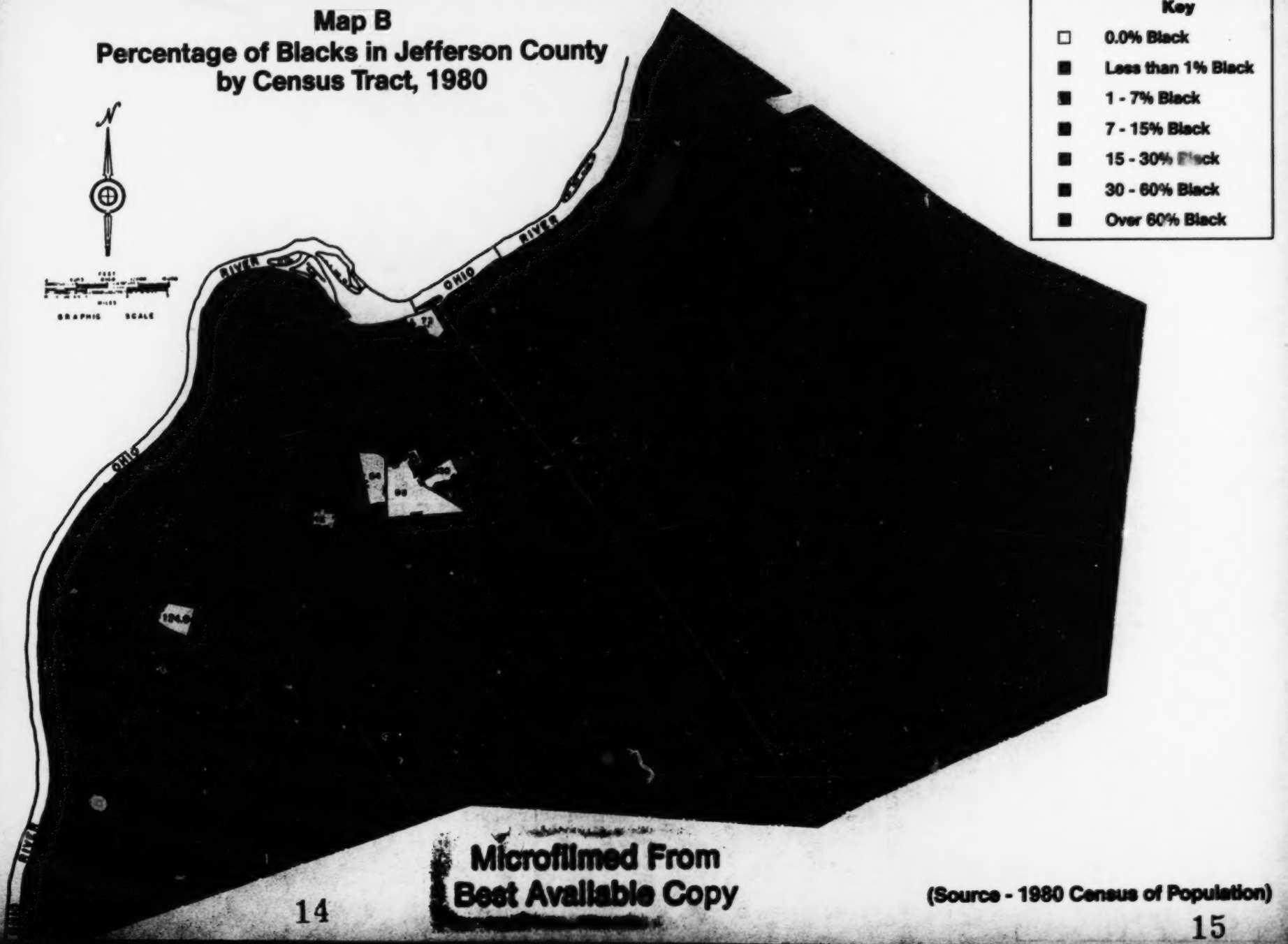
(Source - 1970 Census of Population)

Map B
Percentage of Blacks in Jefferson County by Census Tract, 1980



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(Source - 1980 Census of Population)

Only 14 tracts (12.5 percent) that maintained less than 20 percent black population in 1970 declined in the percentage of black residents by 1980.

The desegregating moves by blacks into the suburban areas was further substantiated in that the number of blacks living in the suburban area of Jefferson County nearly tripled between 1970 and 1980. The number of blacks living in Jefferson County outside a boundary roughly set by the Watterson Expressway increased to 29,122 in 1980 from 10,606 in 1970, an increase of 275 percent. That numerical increase raised the percentage of blacks living outside the Watterson Expressway to 6.8 percent in 1980 from 2.8 percent in 1970. The upsurge in the percentage of blacks living in suburban areas did not occur because of a total population decline over the 10-year period, but rather, the total population outside the Watterson Expressway also increased to 427,614 in 1980 from 376,410 in 1970 [See Table C].

TABLE C

Change in Population by Race
in Suburban Jefferson County[2]
1970 - 1980

Year	Black	Total	% Black
1980	29,122	427,614	6.8
1970	10,606	376,410	2.8
Change	+18,516	+51,204	+4.0

[2]Suburban Jefferson County uses the Watterson Expressway as the dividing line. From Dixie Highway and the Watterson Expressway west to the Ohio River, already established census tract boundaries were used as a dividing line. The suburban area is the black portion of the map above.

THREE SUBURBAN AREAS HAVE HIGHER LEVELS OF BLACKS THAN OTHER AREAS

Three suburban areas in Jefferson County recorded higher levels of black population than the other suburban areas of the county ranging from a low of 7 percent black to 50 percent black or higher.

The Newburg area (census tracts 113.01 and 113.02) was the only area in the suburban county that had a black majority population in 1980 and the census tracts immediately surrounding Newburg gained in the percentage of black residents between 1970 and 1980.

The two census tracts containing Newburg grew to 73.4 percent black population in 1980. That was an increaseth of 31.1 percent in the level of black residents between 1970 and 1980, the fifth largest growth area for blacks in Jefferson County. The southern part (census tract 113.02) was inhabited by 80.3 percent black, while the northern section (census tract 113.01) maintained a 48.0 percent black population in 1980.

The area south of Lynnview and west of Newburg (census tracts 114.02 and 114.04) grew from having less than 1.0 percent black residents in 1970 to having more than 12 percent black residents in 1980. The southern portion (census tract 114.02) which runs to Fern Valley Road between Preston Highway and Old Shepherdsville Road went from having 82 blacks or 0.8 percent of the residents in 1970 to 1,286 blacks or 12.4 percent of the inhabitants in 1980. The western section (census tract 114.04) lying between Preston Highway and Poplar Level Road and Indian Trail and Gilmore Lane had 404 blacks or 12.5 percent of the residents in 1980. An equal comparison with 1970 cannot be made because this area had not been subdivided into its own tract, but the larger area which contained

census tract 114.04 in 1970 had only 12 black residents or 0.2 percent of the population.

The land north and east of Newburg between Bashford Manor Lane and the Watterson Expressway and between Newburg and Bardstown Roads, (census tract 112) gained 417 additional black residents between 1970 and 1980. That raised the percentage of blacks to 9.4 percent in 1980 from only 0.8 percent in 1970. The area continuing south to Fegenbush Lane which includes West Buechel and Raceland Mall (census tract 110.02) went from having 348 black inhabitants in 1970 to 1,235 in 1980, a black growth of 16.3 percent.

The area bounded by Bardstown and Taylorsville Roads between Fairground Road and Breckinridge Lane which includes Houston Acres and the southern part of Jeffersontown (census tracts 111.01, 111.03, and 111.04) increased in the number and percentage of black residents between 1970 and 1980 so that the area ranged between 7 to 10 percent black in 1980. Exact comparisons cannot be made because of boundary subdivisions, but 1,743 or 8.5 percent of the residents were black in 1980 and a larger geographical area in 1970, which included these three tracts, had only 927 blacks in 1970 or 5.3 percent of the population.

The third suburban area where blacks made up a higher than average percentage of the population was in extreme eastern Jefferson County between U.S. 60 and the Ohio River including Prospect, Fincastle West, Worthington Hills, and Berrytown (census tracts 75.01, 103.01, and 103.02). Blacks comprised 10.5 percent of the population in this eastern area of the county and accounted for 2,186 of 20,835 residents in 1980. That was double the number of

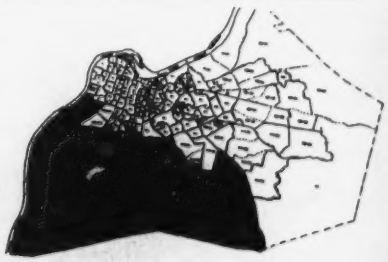
blacks that lived in the area in 1970 when 1,135 blacks made up 10.4 percent of residents. The central section of this eastern area, which includes Prospect, Green Springs, Barbourmeade, Fincastle West, and Worthington Hills, (census tract 103.01) experienced the greatest increase in the level of blacks going from 72 blacks making up 1.4 percent of the residents in 1970 to 1,241 blacks accounting for 8.8 percent of the inhabitants in 1980.

SOUTHWEST COUNTY GAINS SIX-FOLD INCREASE OF BLACKS

A large geographical area south of the Watterson Expressway extending to the county line and west of Bardstown Road extending to the Ohio River (excluding Newburg) changed from an area where less than one percent of the residents were black in 1970 to an area where blacks made up almost five percent of the population in 1980. The number of blacks increased almost six-fold in this area going from 2,118 and 0.8 percent black population in 1970 to 12,578 and 4.6 percent black population in 1980, a black population increase of 594 percent. The desegregating impact that blacks had on this area

TABLE D

Change in Population by Race
in West Suburban Jefferson County[3]
1970 - 1980



Year	Black	Total	% Black
1980	12,578	274,206	4.6
1970	2,118	256,458	0.8
Change	+10,460	+17,748	+3.8

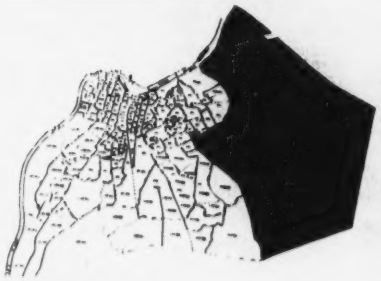
[3]West suburban Jefferson County, the black portion of the map above, is all the area south of the Watterson Expressway and west of Bardstown Road, excluding the Newburg area.

of the county was also illustrated in that blacks accounted for 58.9 percent of the population growth in this area over the ten years. An additional 17,748 people lived in this area in 1980 than in 1970 and blacks accounted for 10,460 or 58.9 percent of this growth [See Table D].

The number of black residents in the county east of Bardstown Road and outside the Watterson Expressway almost doubled between 1970 and 1980. The percentage of blacks living in this area grew to 10.8 percent of the population in 1980 with 16,544 blacks among 153,408 total inhabitants. In 1970, 8,488 blacks made up 7.1 percent of the residents in the eastern suburban area, resulting in a gain of 8,056 black residents between 1970 and 1980 [See Table E].

TABLE E

Change in Population by Race
in East Suburban Jefferson County[4]
1970 - 1980



Year	Black	Total	% Black
1980	16,544	153,408	10.8
1970	8,488	119,952	7.1
Change	+8,056	+33,456	+3.7

[4]East suburban Jefferson County, the black portion of the map above, is the area east and south of the Watterson Expressway and east of Bardstown Road.

PROPORTION OF BLACK RESIDENTS INCREASED IN WEST URBAN AREAS

The portion of the county north of the Watterson Expressway and west of I-65 became increasingly black between 1970 and 1980 even though the black and white populations declined. Blacks made up

TABLE F

Change in Population by Race
in West Urban Jefferson County[5]
1970 - 1980

Year	Black	Total	% Black
1980	72,052	137,035	52.6
1970	75,151	172,488	43.6
Change	-3,099	-35,453	+9.0

[5]West urban Jefferson County, the black portion of the map above, is the area inside the Watterson Expressway and west of I-65.

52.6 percent or 72,052 of the total population of 137,035 in 1980, a 9.0 percent increase from the 43.6 percent level blacks held among the total population of 172,488 in 1970 [See Table F].

The predominantly black west end of Louisville became blacker between 1970 and 1980. Blacks made up more than 60 percent of the population in 22 census tracts in western Louisville between Market Street and Algonquin Parkway in 1970, and the number of census tracts with 60 percent or more blacks grew to 27 in 1980 with the predominantly black area edging out into Shively (census tract 128.01), Portland (census tracts 3 and 4), and the central downtown (census tract 29). Blacks comprised 88.1 percent of the population in the 22 tracts in 1970 and blacks residents made up 90.0 percent of the population in the larger 27 tract area in 1980.

While the majority of the predominantly black west end of Louisville increased in the percentage of black population between

1970 and 1980, three small pockets of the west end did not. Two census tracts on the southern edge of the west end bordering on the Ohio River which includes parts of the Chickasaw and Parkland neighborhoods (census tracts 12 and 13) did not increase in the percentage of black population but both remained above 90 percent black.

Four adjacent census tracts on the eastern edge of the west end bordering on the Portland area (census tracts 19, 20, 24, and 25) did not gain in the proportion of blacks but they still were almost all-black with three tracts over 90 percent black and the fourth at 88 percent black. Three contiguous tracts in the Station Park area (census tracts 32, 33, and 34) lost percentages of black residents, but the population density in that area dropped dramatically. The total population in that area dropped by more than half between 1970 and 1980.

Three tracts in the predominantly white Portland area (census tracts 2, 21, and 23) declined in the percentage of black residents between 1970 and 1980. These three tracts on the eastern edge of Portland dropped to 5.1 percent black in 1980 from 8.2 percent black in 1970.

SMALL BLACK GROWTH OCCURRED IN EAST END OF CITY

The smallest growth in the percentage of black residents occurred within the Watterson Expressway but east of I-65 with blacks accounting for 7.6 percent of the inhabitants in 1980, up from 7.0 percent in 1970 [See Table G].

TABLE G

Change in Population by Race
in East Urban Jefferson County[6]
1970 - 1980

Year	Black	Total	% Black
1980	9,074	119,283	7.6
1970	9,828	140,488	7.0
Change	-754	-21,205	+0.6

[6]East urban Jefferson County, the black portion of the map above, is the area inside the Watterson Expressway and east of I-65.

SEVEN SMALL ALL-WHITE AREAS REMAINED IN 1980

The seven census tracts that were all-white enclaves in 1980 covered small geographical areas and were generally sparsely populated: they had 9,843 inhabitants or only 1.4 percent of the county's population, down from the 7.8 percent in 1970.

Four of the all-white tracts in 1980 (census tracts 54, 92, 129, 130) were contiguously located around the Kentucky Fair and Exposition Center including Audubon Park and Parkway Village, and housed 6,742 people--68.5 percent of the combined population of the seven all-white tracts--the largest area where no blacks lived. A smaller geographical area in Pleasure Ridge Park, between Dixie Highway and Sky Blue Avenue, and Lower Hunters Trace and Greenwood Road, (census tract 124.04) constituted the second largest all-white area with 1,794 whites and no blacks.

An even smaller area between Camden and Ashland Avenues near Wyandotte Park in South Louisville south of Churchill Downs (census tract 42) had the third largest all-white population in 1980 with 1,631 white inhabitants and no blacks. The final all-white census tract (73) was a sparsely populated area just east of the central downtown bordering on the Ohio River and on the western edge of Butchertown. Only 443 people--all-white--lived in this area that was bounded by Adams and Hancock Streets.

LOUISVILLE SEGREGATION ON THE AVERAGE NATIONALLY

Louisville's desegregation status in 1980 was close to a national average, based upon a study of the 28 U.S. cities with the largest black populations.[7] The average segregation index for the 28 cities (which did not include Louisville) was 81 compared with Louisville's index of 80.9 [See Table H].

Compared to the 28 cities individually, Louisville was the sixteenth least segregated city in 1980. Louisville was more desegregated than Cleveland, St. Louis, Baltimore, Atlanta, Kansas City, Memphis, Birmingham, Indianapolis and Pittsburgh. However, Louisville was more segregated than Washington, D.C., Cincinnati, Richmond (VA), New Orleans, Columbus (OH), Detroit, and Gary.

Louisville's progress in reducing its segregation index between 1970 and 1980 did not compare favorably with the other cities. The segregation index in 21 of the 28 cities declined more than Louisville's decrease of 2.7 between 1970 and 1980. Only seven

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[7]Karl Taeuber, "Racial Residential Segregation, 28 Cities, 1970-1980," Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison. CDE Working Paper 83-12.

cities--New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Washington, D.C., Newark, Cleveland, and Philadelphia--fared worse than Louisville in reducing the segregation index between 1970 and 1980. Gary, Ind. made the most progress with a segregation index decrease of 16, going from 84 in 1970 to 68 in 1980. Dallas made the second most amount of progress going from an index of 96 in 1970 to 83 in 1980, a decline of 13. Other cities which progressed more than Louisville included Richmond, Va., Columbus, Ohio (declines of 12); Nashville (a decline of 10); Memphis, Birmingham, Indianapolis (declines of 7); Atlanta (a decline of 6); Cincinnati (a decline of 5); Kansas City (a decline of 4); and Baltimore (a decline of 3).

TABLE H

The Change in Segregation in Major U.S. Cities
1970 - 1980

City	1970 Segregation Index	1980 Segregation Index	Change
Chicago	93	92	-1
Cleveland	90	91	+1
St. Louis	90	90	—
Philadelphia	84	88	+4
Baltimore	89	86	-3
Atlanta	92	86	-6
Kansas City	90	86	-4
Memphis	92	85	-7
Birmingham	92	85	-7
Dallas	96	83	-13
Indianapolis	90	83	-7
Pittsburgh	86	83	-3
Jacksonville	94	82	-12
Los Angeles	90	81	-9
Houston	93	81	-12
Louisville[8]	83.6	80.9	-2.7
Milwaukee	88	80	-8
Boston	84	80	-4
Nashville[9]	90	80	-10
Washington, D.C.	79	79	—
Cincinnati	84	79	-5
Richmond (VA)	91	79	-12
New Orleans	84	76	-8
Newark	76	76	—
New York	77	75	-2
Columbus (OH)	86	75	-11
Detroit	82	73	-9
Gary	84	68	-16
Oakland	70	59	-11

Source: Taeuber, Karl. "Racial Residential Segregation, 28 Cities, 1970-1980," Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison. CDE Working Paper 83-12.

[8]Louisville was not one of the 28 cities studied by Taeuber. It has been included in this table for comparative purposes.

[9]Population data for Nashville included all of Davidson County.

DESEGREGATION HAS CONTINUED BETWEEN 1980 AND 1984

Housing desegregation has continued to increase based on a racial analysis of where the student age population lived in Jefferson County in 1980 and where Jefferson County Public School students lived in 1984.

One hundred twenty-three census tracts or 83.7 percent of 147 census tracts in Jefferson County gained in the percentage of black student age population between 1980 and 1984. Only 13 tracts or 8.8 percent of the 147 census tracts lost in the percentage of black student age population between 1980 and 1984.

Blacks comprised 19.8 percent of the student age (6-18) population of 142,160 in 1980 according to census data, and blacks made up 29.1 percent of the Jefferson County Public School population of 80,399 in 1984. (While a comparison between the population ages 6 to 18 in 1980 and the Jefferson County Public School population in 1984 is not an exact correlation, the commission staff believes it is similar enough to show the desegregating trend that has continued between 1980 and 1984.)[10]

Increases in the percentage of black student population throughout all areas of the county furthered desegregation between 1980 and 1984 in that 92 or 88.5 percent of the 104 census tracts with less than 20 percent black student age population in 1980 gained in the level of black students by 1984. Only two or 1.9

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[10]Public and private school students were included in the 1980 data on student age population. The 1984 Jefferson County Public Schools data reflect public school students only. According to the Kentucky Department of Education, 30,569 students in Jefferson County were enrolled in private schools in the 1984-85 school year, of which 1,279 or 4.2 percent were black.

percent of the census tracts with less than 20 percent black student population in 1980 declined in the percentage of black students in 1984.

SUBURBAN AREAS MORE DESEGREGATED IN 1984

Desegregation has continued in suburban areas of Jefferson County in that 15.1 percent of the black students in the Jefferson County Public Schools lived outside the Watterson Expressway in 1984, a gain of 6.7 percent since 1980 when 8.4 percent of the student age population outside the Watterson Expressway was black.

The desegregating trend based upon student age population occurred in both east and west sections of the suburban county. In the region outside the Watterson Expressway and west of Bardstown Road (excluding Newburg), the percentage of black student population grew to 10.1 percent in 1984 from 5.1 percent in 1980. Blacks accounted for 3,086 of the 60,648 student age population in 1980 and blacks made up 3,561 of the 35,183 Jefferson County Public School students in the region in 1984.

East of Bardstown Road and outside the Watterson Expressway, 14.9 percent or 2,185 of 14,673 public school students were black in 1984, an increase from 2,083 or 7.0 percent of the 29,843 student age population in the area in 1980.

Gains in the percentages of black student age population occurred in all of the predominantly white areas of the county. Housing desegregation, according to the change in student population, increased in areas such as Brownsboro, Middletown, Hurstbourne, St. Matthews, Jeffersontown, Fern Creek, Highview, Okolona, Fairdale, Iroquois, Shively, Cane Run, Pleasure Ridge Park, and other areas between 1980 and 1984 [See Maps C and D].

TWO SMALL SUBURBAN AREAS DECLINE SLIGHTLY IN LEVEL OF BLACK STUDENTS

Two small areas outside the Watterson Expressway--one near Standiford Field and the other in extreme southwest Jefferson County--recorded losses in the percentage of black student population of less than 1.0 percent each between 1980 and 1984.

The Edgewood neighborhood between Grade Lane, Preston Highway and Fern Valley Road fell 0.7 percent from 1.4 percent black student age population in 1980 to 0.7 percent black students in 1984. The southwest county area west of Dixie Highway and south of Ashby Lane went from 4.2 percent black students in 1980 to 3.7 percent black students in 1984, a loss of 0.5 percent.

URBAN AREA INCREASED IN PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENT POPULATION

The percentage of black public school students living inside the Watterson Expressway was 55.2 percent in 1984, 13.2 percent higher than the 42.0 percent black student age population living inside the Watterson Expressway in 1980. Blacks made up 20,342 of the 48,386 student age population in the area in 1980 and black Jefferson County Public School students numbered 15,471 out of a total of 28,026 students in 1984.

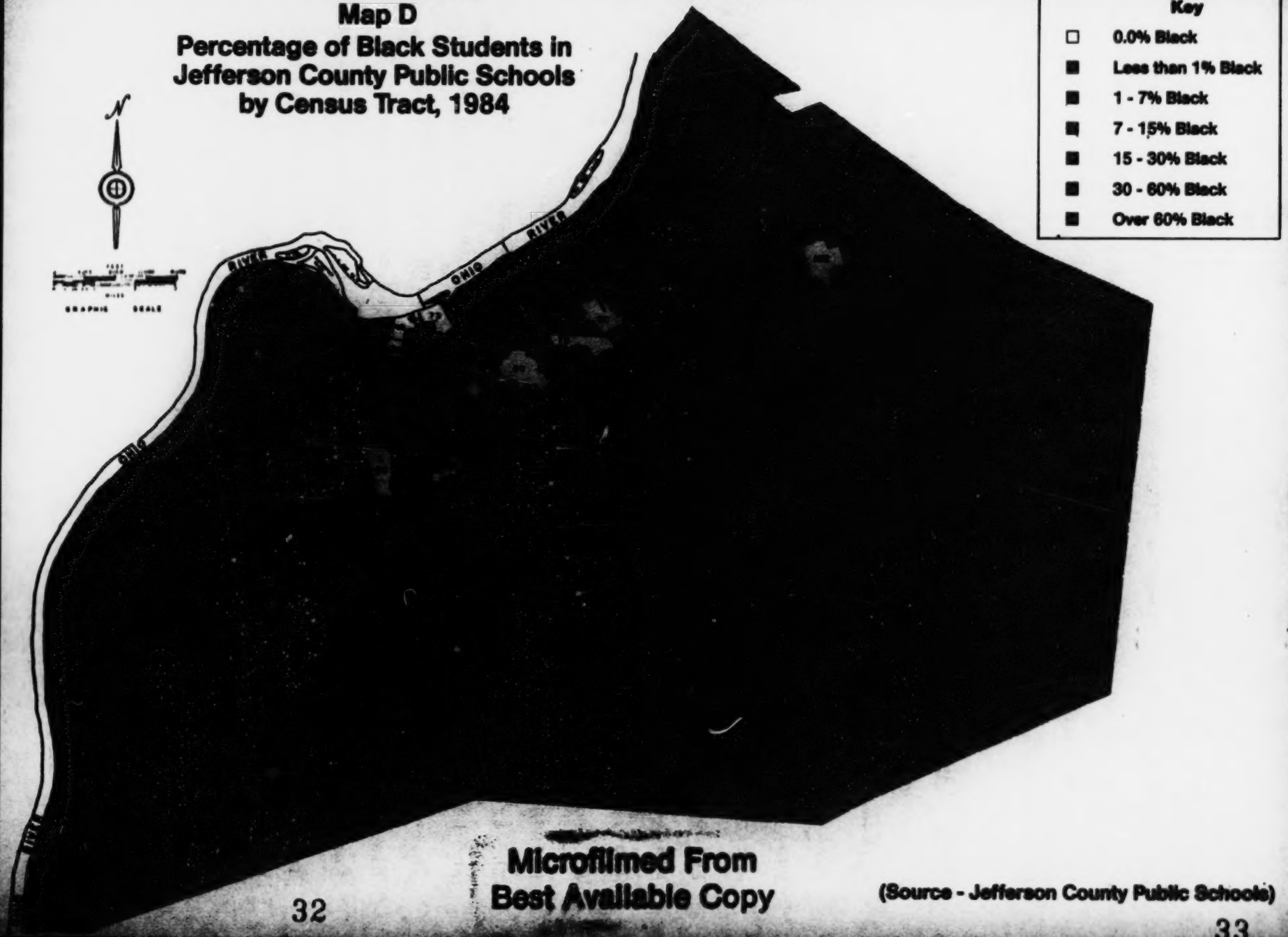
Using I-65 as an east-west divider, increases in black percentages occurred in both east and west sections of the urban area. West of I-65 and within the Watterson Expressway (including the west end of Louisville), black public schools students made up 70.1 percent of the public school population in 1984, an increase from the 64.2 percent black student age population west of I-65 in 1980.

Map C
Percentage of Black Student Age Population by Census Tract, 1980

(Source - 1980 Census of Population)

Microfilmed From Best Available Copy

Map D
Percentage of Black Students in Jefferson County Public Schools by Census Tract, 1984



(Source - Jefferson County Public Schools)

Microfilmed From
Best Available Copy

On the east side of I-65 in the inner county area, the percentages of black students increased between 1980 and 1984, with blacks accounting for 18.8 percent of the public school population in 1984 and blacks making up 9.6 percent of the black student age residents in 1980, an black increase of 9.2 percent.

SMALL BLACK LOSS OCCURRED IN WEST END AND OTHER SCATTERED AREAS

Seven contiguous census tracts between Broadway and Algonquin Parkway (census tracts 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, and 26) experienced a small decline of 0.8 percent in the percentage of black student population between 1980 and 1984 but the area remained almost entirely black. In 1980, this west end area housed 4,985 or 98.9 percent black student age population and that decreased to 3,870 black Jefferson County Public School students or 98.1 percent in 1984.

Four additional small regions within the city declined in the percentage of black student age population between 1980 and 1984. The area between Hill Street and Algonquin Parkway/Colorado Avenue, and between 4th and 15th Streets (census tract 35) fell 7.2 percent in the level of black student population going from 81.8 percent black in 1980 to 74.6 percent black in 1984. The neighborhood between Burnett Street and Eastern Parkway, and between Preston and 1st Streets, near U of L (census tract 72), declined 6.4 percent to 14.3 percent black student population in 1984 from 20.7 percent in 1980. The Smoketown region between Broadway and Kentucky Street and Preston and Shelby Streets (census tract 62) dropped to 94.7 percent black student population in 1984 from 98.1 percent in 1980, a decline

of 3.4 percent. A sparsely populated area between the Ohio River and Jefferson Street, and 7th and 14th Streets (census tract 29) fell slightly to 97.9 percent black student population in 1984 from 98.3 percent in 1980.

> . . .school desegregation is the most effective policy instrument we have against housing segregation. . . .Put another way, the data indicate that in spite of major civil rights legislation and litigation victories, increases in minority income and other factors, without school desegregation there would have been no increase in the rate of housing desegregation in large central cities during the decade of the 1970s.
>
> - - -Diana Pearce, Department of Sociology, American University, Washington, D.C.

CONCLUSIONS

Black movement to predominantly white areas of the county between 1970 and 1980 resulted in Jefferson County being more desegregated in 1980 than at any time since 1940. A comparison of student age population residences between 1980 and 1984 indicates that desegregation has continued to increase.

It is unmistakably clear that blacks are living in all areas of Jefferson County and in some places blacks make up significant portions of the population. No longer are there large geographical areas in the suburban county where blacks do not reside.

Many factors have contributed to the first gains in housing desegregation in forty years, but the largest contributor to housing desegregation was successful county-wide school desegregation. Since its inception in 1975, the Jefferson County school

desegregation plan has included housing desegregation incentives which allow students to attend their neighborhood schools if their race is in the minority in their neighborhood. Some of the housing desegregation incentives are still part of the current school desegregation plan.

Pearce, in her study, notes that housing segregation has been the most intractible form of historical discrimination to overcome. She concludes that housing segregation can be broken and that metropolitan-wide school desegregation has been a "strikingly effective tool to this end."[11] The Jefferson County school desegregation plan undoubtedly spurred housing desegregation and is continuing to do so.

State and local civil rights organizations have also played important roles in these desegregation gains.

1.) Vigorous enforcement of fair housing laws, which have opened up housing markets, has given blacks, for the first time, the choice of making desegregating moves. When presented with the option, many black families have made desegregating moves.

2.) The merger of the city and county Section 8 programs in 1976 has allowed black Section 8 families to be eligible for Section 8 housing in suburban county areas. After the merger, one of every three city-dwelling black families in the Section 8 program has relocated to the county. The transportation services provided by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights for Section 8 families who want to make desegregating moves has made it easier for black families to opt for desegregation.

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[11] Diana M. Pearce, Robert L. Crain, and Reynolds Farley, "Lessons Not Lost: The Effect of School Desegregation on the Rate of Residential Desegregation in Large Central Cities," an unpublished study, 1984.

3.) Regular systemic testing of the real estate market for discrimination by civil rights groups has dramatically reduced the discriminatory practices used by some in the real estate industry to deny blacks equal housing opportunity.

4.) Educational campaigns which have used billboards, leaflets, bumper stickers, and radio and television public service announcements to encourage housing desegregation as the most effective means of school desegregation have informed blacks about the desegregation options available to them.

Even though the first desegregation gains were achieved between 1970 and 1980, housing segregation is still a major problem in Jefferson County. More work is needed to produce more gains. While suburban areas became more desegregated, the predominantly black west end of Louisville became blacker and grew in size, leaving a large geographical area basically a one-race community.

Governmental policies which permitted discrimination against blacks in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s produced the segregated west end of Louisville. Creative and innovative government policies and leadership are needed in the 1980s to undo what government created in the past.

It is ironic that federal court action indirectly has had such a dramatic effect on housing desegregation when federal, state, and local government units have left a vacuum by their inaction. What could have been accomplished if all levels of government had been working together on desegregation during this time?

The desegregation of the Louisville and Jefferson County public housing authorities--two of the state's most segregated--would greatly reduce segregation in Louisville's west end and in the

Newburg area of the county. But the failure of housing authority leaders to develop and implement a long-range, comprehensive plan which would completely desegregate their units has been discouraging. What could have been achieved if public housing tenants had been returned to renovated projects in a desegregated fashion? Much still could be accomplished in the near future if refurbished projects were filled in a desegregated way and sites for new projects selected to encourage residential desegregation.

The city's recently adopted housing assistance plan, which has been submitted to the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development, gives hope that new assisted housing will be desegregated. The housing assistance plan would prohibit new assisted housing--either new construction or rehabilitation--in census tracts where blacks make up 40 percent or more of the population or in census tracts where the median income is less than half of the median income city-wide. This concept, which fair housing groups have supported for many years, would prevent the perpetuation of already existing heavily black or poor neighborhoods and would encourage desegregation in other neighborhoods. The one city housing official whose agency could make the most desegregation progress under this concept has opposed it.

Creative use of government-backed, low-interest housing money which would encourage housing desegregation is badly needed. Awarding these funds to families willing to purchase or rehabilitate housing where it would have a desegregating effect could go a long way in reducing segregated neighborhoods.

Desegregation change does not come easy and more work is needed to continue the desegregating trend established between 1970 and 1980.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RELATED COMMISSION PUBLICATIONS

They Won't Tell You It's Because You're Black, a pamphlet explaining how some landlords give reasons to blacks that are really excuses to cover discrimination, what the housing law prohibits, and how to report discrimination. July 1985.

Apartment Discrimination Declines to 7.4 Percent in Louisville and Jefferson County, a report comparing results from black and white team testing in 1985 to results found in 1977 and 1980. The report showed an 84 percent decline in discrimination in eight years. 29 Pages. October 1985.

Apartment Discrimination in Fayette County Declines to 6.9 Percent, a report comparing results from black and white team testing in 1985 to results found in 1977 and 1981. The report showed a 43 percent decline in discrimination in eight years. 31 pages. November 1985

Resegregation Worsens Under New Desegregation Plan, 1984-85, a report on the status of school desegregation in Jefferson County for the 1984-85 school year. The report revealed that almost one of five schools were out of compliance with student enrollment guidelines as of October 1984. 38 pages. May 1985

Jefferson County and Louisville Have Most Segregated Public Housing in Kentucky, a report showing the progress made and the problems remaining in public housing desegregation as of July 1, 1985. 62 pages. October 1985.

School and Housing Desegregation Are Working Together in Louisville and Jefferson County, 1975-1983, a report which documents the progress the Louisville-area community has made in housing desegregation as a result of school desegregation which began in 1975. 51 pages. May 1983.

Black Student Residents Nearly Double in Suburban Jefferson County Since School Desegregation, an analysis of the residency of black students in relation to school they attend to determine if the incentives in the school desegregation plan for blacks have fostered housing desegregation. 25 pages. April 1981.

Housing and School Desegregation Increased by Section 8 Moves, an analysis of the Section 8 programs in Jefferson County since its inception in 1975 to November 1979. The report examines the Section 8 moves by blacks into mostly white neighborhoods and the effect those moves have had on the transportation plan of the county school system. 29 pages. April 1980.

APPENDIX A

Population of Jefferson County by Census Tract
1960, 1970, 1980

Tract	1960 Total	1960 % Blk	1970 Black	1970 Total	1970 % Blk	1980 Black	1980 Total	1980 % Blk
1	1704	1.9	12	1133	1.1	61	809	7.54
2	3712	3.2	111	2913	3.8	16	2200	0.72
3	2834	0.0	217	2097	10.3	1142	1885	60.58
4	5475	0.0	1495	5598	26.7	4165	5444	76.50
5	2617	0.2	16	2138	0.7	67	1674	4.00
6	4248	23.4	2692	3501	76.9	2067	2401	86.08
7	4329	0.0	3093	4154	74.5	3679	3919	93.87
8	2949	0.0	1991	2857	69.7	2809	2995	93.78
9	3226	0.1	3130	3546	88.3	2696	2817	95.70
10	5752	57.0	4554	4728	96.3	3410	3481	97.96
11	5516	42.1	5006	5375	93.1	4234	4370	96.88
12	2680	87.2	2837	3001	94.5	2355	2498	94.27
13	3043	96.8	1301	1305	99.7	1493	1502	99.40
14	7407	93.7	6221	6315	98.5	4993	5062	98.63
15	5096	28.6	5067	5873	86.3	4473	4689	95.39
16	4874	3.3	3096	5095	60.8	3544	4052	87.46
17	3892	23.1	3791	4111	92.2	3193	3288	97.11
18	3608	26.9	3014	3370	89.4	2180	2292	95.11
19	3323	86.8	2596	2705	96.0	1358	1457	93.20
20	4205	82.2	3019	3243	93.1	1994	2162	92.22
21	5587	3.9	301	4771	6.3	197	3737	5.27
22	4702	1.7	110	2739	4.0	82	2004	4.09
23	6333	2.9	645	5234	12.3	271	3504	7.73
24	3648	90.7	2485	2655	93.6	1335	1466	91.06
25	3901	88.7	1676	1795	93.4	642	729	88.06
26	3511	60.8	2028	2249	90.2	932	996	93.57
27	5316	72.3	4122	4397	93.7	2688	2820	95.31
28	3611	5.8	427	2869	14.9	1326	2388	55.52
29	1559	42.1	153	283	54.1	297	320	92.81
30	4738	94.7	1662	1861	89.3	3883	3941	98.52
31	1624	95.6	355	368	96.5			
32	1390	87.1	714	719	99.3	305	315	96.82
33	2890	85.7	1591	1733	91.8	665	806	82.50
34	2036	43.0	562	1463	38.4	199	706	28.18
35	4107	2.8	1775	3188	55.7	1888	2652	71.19
36	8198	3.6	216	7052	3.1	250	5683	4.39
37	3440	15.1	476	3007	15.8	294	2096	14.03
38	4509	0.02	0	3962	0.0	10	3207	0.31
39	5853	0.06	0	5417	0.0	11	4276	0.25
40	3507	0.02	0	2253	0.0	1	1882	0.05
41	3419	0.0	4	3179	0.1	19	2378	0.79
42	2626	0.0	0	2013	0.0	0	1631	0.00
43	7813	0.3	176	8402	2.1			
43.01						783	4016	19.49
43.02						864	3901	22.14
44	4650	0.2	6	4612	0.1	13	4048	0.32
45	4092	3.1	89	4604	1.9	106	3950	2.68

APPENDIX A (Continued)

	1960		1970			1980		
Tract	Total	% Blk	Black	Total	% Blk	Black	Total	% Blk
46	4781	0.0	0	4476	0.0	2	3714	0.05
47	1380	21.4	28	295	9.5	257	662	38.82
48	945	17.6	10	122	8.2	4	23	17.39
49	1607	27.5	295	1504	19.6	807	1757	45.93
50	3086	18.7	392	2239	17.5	303	1663	18.22
51	4655	5.7	240	3442	7.0	459	2972	15.44
52	5568	0.7	48	4699	1.0	528	3384	15.60
53	3029	2.0	77	1855	4.2	470	1907	24.64
54	727	0.0	1	582	0.2	0	272	0.00
55	3726	12.7	344	3109	11.1	240	2299	10.43
56	4819	0.0	18	4548	0.4	796	5139	15.48
57	3395	5.5	118	1783	6.6	49	656	7.46
58	1481	22.4	35	173	20.2	31	130	23.84
59	6554	35.4	2046	4195	48.8	2599	3859	67.34
60	3399	42.4	1363	2037	66.9	611	1033	59.14
61	2064	23.5	290	1082	26.8	172	506	33.99
62	5321	90.1	3294	3551	92.8	2357	2449	96.24
63	5484	2.9	263	4496	5.8	243	3301	7.36
64	3270	3.7	9	2981	0.3	12	2132	0.56
65	3024	18.5	812	2612	31.1	1014	2255	44.96
66	4815	3.7	104	4103	2.5	169	2752	6.14
67	2319	37.0	623	1705	36.5	412	1362	30.24
68	3554	5.0	155	3155	4.9	126	2572	4.89
69	3341	0.02	4	2898	0.1	16	2518	0.63
70	3322	0.02	4	2780	0.1	20	2370	0.84
71	5576	0.1	74	4765	1.6	48	3805	1.26
72	2271	29.4	57	297	19.2	107	395	27.08
73	1478	0.4	3	765	0.4	0	443	0.00
74	3925	4.1	18	3323	0.5	81	2556	3.16
75	5695	7.1						
75.01			12	4227	0.3	30	4710	0.63
75.02			469	3687	12.7	529	4326	12.22
76	5521	4.7	330	8846	3.7			
76.01						24	1955	1.22
76.02						504	3840	13.12
76.03						113	2117	5.33
77	3211	0.5	31	3107	1.0	54	3003	1.79
78	4692	0.04	0	4479	0.0	2	3728	0.06
79	2346	0.04	2	2288	0.1	22	1946	1.13
80	1454	7.4	95	1260	7.5	55	936	5.87
81	4615	2.9	87	3604	2.4	80	2829	2.82
82	5094	1.3	25	5213	0.5	49	4406	1.11
83	3437	0.3	2	3388	0.1	46	3158	1.45
84	4148	0.06	10	3950	0.3	27	3434	0.78
85	2564	0.2	7	2528	0.3	13	2227	0.58
86	721	8.3	4	840	0.5	20	696	2.87
87			13	3953	0.3	31	4170	0.74
87A	3115	0.8						
87B	2304	0.04						
88	3921	0.5	7	3767	0.2	14	3404	0.41

APPENDIX A (Continued)

Tract	1960 Total	1960 % Blk	1970 Black	1970 Total	1970 % Blk	1980 Black	1980 Total	1980 % Blk
89	4680	0.9	49	4642	1.1	32	4167	0.76
90	8472	0.01	13	8180	0.2	256	7338	3.48
91	5151	0.9	2	10,349	0.01			
91.01						1	1689	0.05
91.02						174	8396	2.07
92	5003	0.04	0	4320	0.0	0	3378	0.00
93	5293	0.2	4	5850	0.1	45	4864	0.92
94	4593	0.09	1	4021	0.0	5	3272	0.15
95	908	0.0	0	1070	0.0	11	1068	1.02
96	3262	0.5	8	5444	0.1	54	4927	1.09
97	3386	0.03	4	3041	0.1	10	2704	0.36
98	4047	0.02	0	4089	0.0	3	3282	0.09
99	3676	0.04	0	3548	0.0	6	3192	0.18
100	10252	0.6						
100.01			1	4505	0.02	18	4595	0.39
100.02			7	5168	0.1	283	7914	3.57
100.03			59	9117	0.6	321	11308	2.83
101	5887	1.6						
101.01			6	3962	0.2	15	3406	0.44
101.02			68	3144	2.2	41	3138	1.30
102	1928	17.5	131	884	14.8	42	412	10.19
103	4109	20.3						
103.01			72	5244	1.4	1241	14171	8.76
103.02			594	1967	30.2	416	2338	17.79
104	5519	8.6	369	7195	5.1			
104.01						332	5201	6.38
104.02						97	4100	2.36
105	3514	0.4	8	4802	0.2	29	3838	0.75
106	4450	0.3	10	4966	0.2	98	4684	2.09
107	4722	6.5	28	7431	0.4			
107.01						66	3561	1.85
107.02						44	4284	1.02
107.03						271	8357	3.24
107.04						5	829	0.60
108	3144	0.06	1	3975	0.02	34	3818	0.89
109	11692	0.05						
109.01			44	6217	0.7	220	5311	4.14
109.02			0	6156	0.0	42	4856	0.86
110	9348	5.6						
110.01			104	14413	0.7	665	15972	4.16
110.02			348	3978	8.7	1235	4931	25.04
111	8768	5.6	927	17365	5.3			
111.01						310	4004	7.74
111.02						138	5018	2.75
111.03						978	10519	9.29
111.04						455	6026	7.55
112	2125	0.1	33	4352	0.8	450	4778	9.41
113	7896	51.0	5095	12063	42.3			
113.01						1147	2390	47.99
113.02						7091	8826	80.34

APPENDIX A (Continued)

Tract	1960 Total	1960 % Blk	1970 Black	1970 Total	1970 % Blk	1980 Black	1980 Total	1980 % Blk
114	9077	0.6						
114.01			12	6240	0.2			
114.02			82	9683	0.8	1286	10349	12.42
114.03						2	2412	0.08
114.04						404	3228	12.51
115	7062	0.03						
115.01			8	14711	0.1			
115.02			0	4598	0.0	201	9149	2.19
115.03						423	10562	4.00
115.04						150	4591	3.26
115.05						412	6114	6.73
116	3232	4.7	133	3644	3.6	76	3614	2.10
117	6672	1.1						
117.01			58	6785	0.9	162	8463	1.91
117.02			28	8095	0.3			
117.03			1	3500	0.02	18	4300	0.41
117.04						62	4972	1.24
117.05						157	6819	2.30
118	6619	0.02	15	7370	0.2	78	6230	1.25
119	11406	0.02						
119.01						29	4626	0.62
119.02			28	7855	0.4			
119.03			9	9112	0.1			
119.04						94	3225	2.91
119.05						76	6409	1.18
119.06						130	3689	3.52
119.07						25	4870	0.51
120	10196	0.1	33	11855	0.3			
120.01						6	3851	0.15
120.02						31	4381	0.70
120.03						60	3753	1.59
121	17230	0.8						
121.01			160	9918	0.3			
121.02			58	13987	0.3			
121.03						58	3044	1.90
121.04						170	4728	3.59
121.05						28	3674	0.76
121.06						150	7294	2.05
121.07						111	4817	2.30
122	5851	0.3	19	11568	0.2			
122.01						134	8839	1.51
122.02						105	6230	1.68
123	3466	0.0	7	5865	0.1	104	8805	1.18
124	19028	0.005						
124.01			13	9494	0.1			
124.02			13	13065	0.1			
124.03			8	8911	0.1			
124.04						0	1794	0.00
124.05						55	8119	0.67
124.06						58	6790	0.85

APPENDIX A (Continued)

Tract	1960 Total	1960 % Blk	1970 Black	1970 Total	1970 % Blk	1980 Black	1980 Total	1980 % Blk
124.07						67	3933	1.70
124.08						21	2906	0.72
124.09						16	4317	0.37
125	9299	0.02	25	13465	0.2			
125.01						150	2539	5.90
125.02						72	4520	1.59
125.03						192	4858	3.95
126	14825	0.007						
126.01			15	9178	0.2	677	7661	8.83
126.02			1	10083	0.01			
126.03						32	2913	1.09
126.04						546	5974	9.13
127	8252	1.1	877	12840	6.8			
127.01						2420	5495	44.04
127.02						78	2729	2.85
127.03						293	5744	5.10
128	7047	0.01	1333	8009	16.6			
128.01						2681	4000	67.02
128.02						370	3077	12.02
129	949	0.0	1	829	0.1	0	754	0.00
130	1867	0.0	0	1862	0.0	0	1571	0.00
131	2697	0.01	14	2667	0.5	10	2338	0.42
132	804	0.01	0	727	0.0	1	653	0.15
TOTAL	612,708	12.9	95,588	689,976	13.85	109,698	684,793	16.01

APPENDIX B

Jefferson County Population by Race, Ages 6-18 by 1980 Census Tract

Census Tract	Black	White	Total	% Black
1	11	143	154	7.14
2	1	464	469	0.21
3	388	146	535	72.52
4	1,375	204	1,586	86.69
5	18	353	371	4.85
6	565	53	621	90.98
7	985	23	1,009	97.62
8	847	16	867	97.69
9	630	21	653	96.47
10	737	3	740	99.59
11	883	16	899	98.22
12	481	2	484	99.38
13	402	0	404	99.50
14	1,861	14	1,876	99.20
15	1,087	35	1,134	95.85
16	986	46	1,035	95.26
17	776	4	782	99.23
18	519	12	536	96.82
19	231	20	254	90.94
20	365	26	397	91.93
21	50	807	860	5.81
22	14	395	409	3.42
23	67	719	791	8.47
24	235	40	277	84.83
25	86	0	99	86.86
26	209	8	217	96.31
27	518	26	545	95.04
28	367	146	513	71.53
29	59	1	60	98.33
30	1,207	11	1,221	98.85
32	45	0	45	100.00
33	110	24	135	81.48
34	34	122	156	21.79
35	632	141	773	81.75
36	70	757	830	8.43
37	44	311	356	12.35
38	0	470	477	0.00
39	0	632	639	0.00
40	0	292	293	0.00
41	1	339	342	0.29
42	0	273	273	0.00
43.01	166	632	806	20.59
43.02	308	776	1,087	28.33
44	0	485	487	0.00
45	22	708	735	2.99
46	0	498	503	0.00
47	12	18	30	40.00
48	0	0	1	0.00
49	79	24	107	73.83

APPENDIX B (Continued)

Census Tract	Black	White	Total	% Black
50	46	56	103	44.66
51	56	162	242	23.14
52	63	229	326	19.32
53	88	134	236	37.28
54	0	63	63	0.00
55	53	324	379	13.98
56	169	743	948	17.82
57	9	101	110	8.18
58	9	36	45	20.00
59	582	94	677	85.96
60	122	95	221	55.20
61	21	63	87	24.13
62	515	10	525	98.09
63	55	580	635	8.66
64	0	294	308	0.00
65	258	244	508	50.78
66	28	400	438	6.39
67	72	189	263	27.37
68	24	375	400	6.00
69	0	351	356	0.00
70	6	271	281	2.13
71	6	526	535	1.12
72	17	63	82	20.73
73	0	0	76	0.00
74	12	381	379	3.16
75.01	6	974	1,011	0.59
75.02	83	862	964	8.60
76.01	4	203	210	1.90
76.02	89	355	449	19.82
76.03	17	343	270	6.29
77	8	445	461	1.73
78	0	424	424	0.00
79	4	246	251	1.59
80	0	101	113	0.00
81	18	521	546	3.29
82	3	393	398	0.75
83	4	426	432	0.92
84	3	442	452	0.66
85	0	257	261	0.00
86	0	110	115	0.00
87	4	604	609	0.65
88	0	488	491	0.00
89	4	729	740	0.54
90	73	1,195	1,279	5.70
91.01	0	334	334	0.00
91.02	29	1,722	1,760	1.64
92	0	573	580	0.00
93	2	638	643	0.31
94	0	517	520	0.00
95	0	242	249	0.00
96	20	918	943	2.12

APPENDIX B (Continued)

Census Tract	Black	White	Total	% Black
97	0	365	368	0.00
98	0	399	400	0.00
99	0	382	385	0.00
100.01	1	849	863	0.11
100.02	88	1,740	1,886	4.66
100.03	86	2,230	2,337	3.67
101.01	4	588	598	0.66
101.02	17	643	671	2.53
102	0	66	73	0.00
103.01	357	2,997	3,419	10.44
103.02	88	442	538	16.35
104.01	73	1,109	1,210	6.03
104.02	28	815	851	3.29
105	3	624	631	0.47
106	13	552	573	2.26
107.01	12	753	779	1.54
107.02	6	948	960	0.62
107.03	74	1,846	1,949	3.79
107.04	0	197	198	0.00
108	3	619	631	0.47
109.01	46	776	831	5.53
109.02	16	813	842	1.90
110.01	165	2,884	3,096	5.32
110.02	320	492	869	36.82
111.01	105	778	885	11.86
111.02	24	1,064	1,095	2.19
111.03	236	2,087	2,333	10.11
111.04	128	1,190	1,337	9.57
112	108	552	668	16.16
113.01	270	164	434	62.21
113.02	2,408	426	2,849	84.52
114.02	314	2,022	2,347	13.37
114.03	0	471	472	0.00
114.04	77	516	599	12.85
115.02	53	2,150	2,213	2.39
115.03	91	2,494	2,597	3.50
115.04	60	1,028	1,094	5.48
115.05	118	1,536	1,665	7.08
116	16	804	823	1.94
117.01	56	2,150	2,223	2.51
117.03	9	1,043	1,060	0.84
117.04	16	1,312	1,345	1.18
117.05	62	1,811	1,902	3.25
118	20	1,372	1,398	1.43
119.01	16	1,171	1,200	1.33
119.04	33	728	790	4.17
119.05	33	1,530	1,574	2.09
119.06	21	789	813	2.58
119.07	7	1,048	1,059	0.66
120.01	0	906	915	0.00
120.02	10	1,020	1,044	0.95

APPENDIX B (Continued)

Census Tract	Black	White	Total	% Black
120.03	24	955	982	2.44
121.03	24	722	755	3.17
121.04	54	1,056	1,121	4.81
121.05	11	923	934	1.17
121.06	56	1,765	1,806	3.10
121.07	40	1,095	1,146	3.49
122.01	15	1,838	1,869	0.80
122.02	33	1,285	1,331	2.47
123	14	1,834	1,862	0.75
124.04	0	456	458	0.00
124.05	13	2,173	2,192	0.59
124.06	22	1,587	1,622	1.35
124.07	22	1,031	1,065	2.06
124.08	1	588	600	0.16
124.09	4	1,013	1,023	0.39
125.01	24	346	373	6.43
125.02	7	771	783	0.89
125.03	54	1,028	1,088	4.96
126.01	191	1,175	1,371	13.93
126.03	6	469	475	1.26
126.04	129	1,102	1,234	10.45
127.01	611	587	1,210	50.49
127.02	24	598	623	3.85
127.03	82	1,368	1,468	5.58
128.01	860	202	1,064	80.82
128.02	112	459	572	19.58
129	0	0	101	0.00
130	0	0	261	0.00
131	0	367	377	0.00
132	0	0	101	0.00
TOTAL	28,189	112,186	142,160	19.82

APPENDIX C

Jefferson County Public School Student
by Census Tract and Race as of October 1, 1984

Census Tract	Black	White	Total	% Black
1	27	97	124	21.77
2	21	327	348	6.03
3	261	74	335	77.91
4	925	97	1,022	90.50
5	23	279	203	11.33
6	351	20	371	94.60
7	633	14	647	97.83
8	616	14	630	97.77
9	447	4	451	99.11
10	594	10	604	98.34
11	583	4	587	99.31
12	339	3	342	99.12
13	275	5	280	98.21
14	1,520	20	1,540	98.70
15	762	23	785	97.07
16	647	27	674	95.99
17	610	12	622	98.07
18	355	14	369	96.20
19	138	3	141	97.87
20	310	13	323	95.97
21	54	533	587	9.19
22	15	249	264	5.68
23	60	560	620	9.67
24	157	16	176	89.20
25	79	4	83	95.18
26	177	9	186	95.16
27	418	18	436	95.87
28	332	90	422	78.67
29	46	1	47	97.87
30	719	7	726	99.03
31	391	6	397	98.48
32	32	0	32	100.00
33	70	13	83	84.33
34	35	56	91	38.46
35	475	162	637	74.56
36	61	501	562	10.85
37	48	158	206	23.30
38	1	262	263	0.38
39	26	425	451	5.76
40	2	164	166	1.20
41	7	196	203	3.44
42	2	155	157	1.27
43	572	911	1,483	38.57
44	1	242	343	0.29
45	22	324	346	6.35
46	2	219	221	0.90
47	2	1	3	66.66
49	6	7	13	46.15
50	40	15	55	72.72

APPENDIX C (Continued)

Census Tract	Black	White	Total	% Black
51	102	96	198	51.51
52	96	111	207	46.37
53	42	26	68	61.76
54	0	36	36	0.00
55	43	245	288	14.93
56	218	430	648	33.64
57	5	44	49	10.20
59	410	35	445	92.13
60	73	48	121	60.33
61	37	18	55	67.27
62	396	22	418	94.73
63	37	284	321	11.52
64	4	137	141	2.83
65	216	178	394	54.82
66	103	284	387	26.61
67	66	105	171	38.59
68	11	165	176	6.25
69	1	202	203	0.49
70	11	84	95	11.57
71	6	262	268	2.23
72	4	24	28	14.28
73	0	30	30	0.00
74	10	154	164	6.09
75.01	16	276	292	5.47
75.02	64	283	347	18.44
76	104	345	449	23.16
77	23	198	221	10.40
78	0	148	148	0.00
79	5	120	125	4.00
80	11	58	69	15.94
81	14	290	304	4.60
82	5	159	164	3.04
83	4	116	120	3.33
84	3	171	174	1.72
85	2	101	103	1.94
86	0	50	50	0.00
87	2	99	101	1.98
88	1	170	171	0.58
89	5	205	210	2.38
90	86	579	665	12.93
91	37	1,086	1,123	3.29
92	2	250	252	0.79
93	5	131	136	3.67
94	2	273	275	0.72
95	2	50	52	3.84
96	17	291	308	5.51
97	2	105	107	1.86
98	0	142	142	0.00
99	2	150	152	1.31
100.01	5	304	309	1.61

APPENDIX C (Continued)

Census Tract	Black	White	Total	% Black
100.02	91	849	940	9.68
100.03	100	1,135	1,235	8.09
101.01	12	343	355	3.38
101.02	14	319	333	4.20
102	0	23	23	0.00
103.01	413	1,639	2,052	20.12
103.02	97	274	371	26.14
104	78	966	1,044	7.47
105	4	152	156	2.56
106	14	241	255	5.49
107	93	1,639	1,732	5.36
108	2	240	242	0.82
109.01	50	241	291	17.18
109.02	20	301	321	6.23
110.01	142	927	1,069	13.28
110.02	450	254	704	63.92
111	446	2,527	2,973	15.00
112	103	164	267	38.57
113	2,160	361	2,521	85.68
114.01	124	487	611	20.29
114.02	397	1,028	1,425	27.85
115.01	290	2,287	2,577	11.25
115.02	80	1,276	1,356	5.89
116	10	364	374	2.67
117.01	48	1,225	1,273	3.77
117.02	107	2,141	2,248	4.75
117.03	10	482	492	2.03
118	5	704	709	0.70
119.01	15	774	789	1.90
119.02	70	1,362	1,432	4.88
119.03	54	919	973	5.54
120	44	1,945	1,989	2.21
121.01	46	1,210	1,256	3.66
121.02	75	2,366	2,441	3.07
122	67	1,614	1,681	3.98
123	33	722	755	4.37
124.01	17	1,442	1,459	1.16
124.02	37	1,356	1,393	2.65
124.03	18	901	919	1.95
125	103	1,046	1,149	8.96
126.01	185	474	659	28.07
126.02	208	706	914	22.75
127	732	1,493	2,225	32.89
128	711	311	1,022	69.56
129	0	26	26	0.00
130	0	76	76	0.00
131	3	118	121	2.47
132	0	38	38	0.00
TOTAL	23,377	57,022	80,399	29.07

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
Martha Layne Collins, Governor

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Under the Kentucky Civil Rights Act of 1966, KRS 344.190 (11), the Commission has the duty "to make studies appropriate to effectuate the purpose and policies of this chapter and to make the results thereof available to the public."

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Printed with State funds, November 1985.

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